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ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

Is submitting to the ordeal of Public Opinion the first number of a new Journal, we feel it to be incumbent upon us to offer a few words in justification of its appearance; and to state the grounds upon which we base our respectful claim for the public patronage.

It will not, we presume, be urged to our disadvantage, that we wish to occupy ground already possessed, or that our appearance is unwelcome and unsolicited. The pool we desire to fill has long been declared vacant,—the services we desire to render have been long required.

The Non-political Man has desired "an honest Chronicler" of the events transpiring around him and in the world at large;—the Moderate Man has sought in vain for an impartial reporter, which should present him with facts and opinions, reflected as from a faithful mirror, free from the taint of religious intolerance and political rancour;—the cautious and constitutional Whig, and the more eager and ardent Radical Reformer, have alike desired a medium through which measures and opinions should be exhibited without wilful exaggeration or extravagant distortion.

An earnest desire to supply these wants is the plea we advance in justification of our appearance. We are aware that, in addition to those we have indicated, the honest Journalist has other and important functions to perform: As a public Instructor he is expected to counteract, and expose Political Truths;—to act as Moderator and Judge between adverse political parties and opinions,—to take a calm and philosophic view of things in general,—to estimate the forces that are in action in the social system, to note their potency and direction, and calculate their results.

In the present state of things these are duties to task the most sagacious observer, and to try the most piercing intellect. The Journalist or the Statesman, (and there are such,) who should now determine their course by the traditions of the past, would betray a total ignorance of the state of society and of the inevitable tendency to progression, which is the most strongly marked feature of our times. The last seven years constitute a part of a new era in English history, the characteristics of which must be more broadly marked upon every succeeding year. The abolition, under the administration of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, of penal and disqualifying laws, which had for centuries deprived millions of the character of citizens, and excluded them from the pale of the constitution, marked the commencement of this new era. The repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts, and the emancipation of the Catholic, hastened and necessitated the Reform of Parliament; and from this great change naturally resulted the reform of the Scotch and English Corporations, which further strengthened the securities for good government, and accelerated the onward movement: add to the changes we have recited the increased responsibility of the Representatives, and the increasing intelligence of the People, and the moral force is accumulated, which must ultimately secure the correction of abuses in the administration of the government, and the reform of every defect in our time-honoured institutions.

We have already professed our attachment to those institutions and laws which shed a surpassing lustre upon our country, and which are prouder monuments of national glory than the star populating Pyramid, or the many-columned Temples of other lands; and because we venerate those institutions we shall cheerfully support, to the extent of our ability, those who labour to remove the stains which a corrupt selfishness have caused, and desire to perpetuate. Here we join issue with, and oppose ourselves to, those who seek by verbal fallacies to identify foul abuses with venerated names, and to make constitutional watch-words the stalking-horse of narrow and selfish interests. These sophisms and pretexts, which the ear dissents to detect and expose. A profuse expenditure of the public money, a disgraceful and lengthened Pension List, cherished objects of the Tories, we shall not allow to escape under the mantle of "the Constitution!" And, although we do not go the length of Judge Blackstone in this particular, we shall not recognize an immense Standing Army, 120,000 strong, with its hosts of Officers, as one of our "excellent institutions,"—or the inequality of our Taxation as a proof of the wisdom of our Ancestors. Little ancestors,—or the heart-sickening delays and ruinous expensiveness of our Law Courts, to be fit objects of conservative regard, to be upheld for the sake of a ragacious breed of sinecurists, who thrive by the misery of others. Nor is our attachment to the Church incompatible with a sincere desire for her improvement and extended usefulness: when Prelates are united in a Commission of Church Reform, it is to such as do not pay our principles and intentions; and it is our deliberate opinion, that it is both unseemly and injurious that such broad contrasts should exist in the circumstances of ministers who serve at the same altar,—that pious and laborious curates should languish upon a pittance of 50 a-year, while others are enervated and encumbered by an excess of this world's goods. And we are not the less certain that a haughty bearing, and intolerant and exacting disposition manifested towards Christians of other sects, is contrary to the spirit of our Religion, and will not strengthen the interests of the Clergy or increase the friends of the Church.

We have now, with becoming candour and frankness, developed our principles and intentions; we believe them to be in accordance with those of a large majority of the people of this country,—we shall advocate and defend them in a firm and temperate spirit, and hope thereby to gain the support and approbation of an enlightened public.

To the Editor of the Oxford Chronicle.

SIR,—It is with feelings of peculiar satisfaction that I address a letter to the Editor of a fair and liberal Oxford Journal. In estimating the merits of the Journal went, and furnish a medium through which *Truth* may be permitted to speak. In the hope that your arrangements will not preclude its insertion, I send a few remarks on the late Tory demonstration in this place. I do not intend in so doing to employ the ignoble weapons which have been used by our political opponents; cheerfully leaving to them the advantages to be derived from misrepresentation, scurrility, and personal abuse. Nor do I think it worth while to call the attention of the public to a *spontaneous* manifestation—namely, the mouths of agitation, and the reproaches by which the moderate Conservatives were goaded into action. (See letters in Oxford Papers. Nor am I disposed to cavil because my Lord this, or Squire that invited his tenants to a dinner and plum pudding. I have expressed my to these things; and I am equally indisposed to retaliate in the matter of drunken squabbles and vociferation: but in more serious mood to examine the nature of the sentiments expressed by legislators and other influential men on the occasion.

The real objects of the dinner organization of the Conservatives throughout the country, namely, to sustain the House of Peers in its opposition to the Commons, and, if possible, to thrust a Tory ministry upon the country, are obscured and hidden by a mass of unmeaning declamation and sounding platitudes, such as "Constitution and Church," "Church and Queen," varied by a flow of abuse of the Ministry, their measures and supporters. This general outline describes the whole of the speeches at the Oxford dinner; with the exception of the generous and benevolent sentiments expressed by Dr. Marsham with reference to the Irish poor. The "Church, the King, the Constitution," are the ever recurring words; but no attempt whatever is made to explain any set of principles, or to expound any course of policy. These expressions of loyalty and power do not condescend to inform their gaping auditory what course they would pursue, what reforms they would propose, what reductions they would effect. Even the malt tax is forgotten by farmers' friends. Oh no!

"From night to morn, from morn to dewy eve,"

You might pass over Conservative speeches, and seek in vain for explanations of this kind. One might express surprise that such empty trash is listened to by any rational being, but with many

"Doubtless the pleasure is as great
Of being cheated as to cheat."

*If I could confide in intelligence, but really frightened Conservatives, trembling for "King, Church, and Constitution," I would quietly, and in the most soothing manner, ask him to state the grounds of alarm for the safety of the monarchy. I would prove to him that there is no throne in Europe, at this moment, so stable as that of England. No monarch has been more popular; no monarch, an usurping oligarchy, clinging to the throne which they had made subservient to their purposes, night, with their own Constitution, to shake the monarchy itself. But every true Englishman honours his Majesty for having delivered both throne and people from the tyranny of the Tories. I would say, "Do you, Sir, Tory spectacles do not believe the Monarchy to be in the least danger, to affect their fictious ends by agitation is the object of those alarmists. The same cry was raised by Sir Robert Peel, as an argument why the Commons House should sit in public," however just and expedient a reform in the representation might be, it would compromise the safety of the Monarchy!" "But the Constitution! the Constitution!" my opposed frightened Conservative might say. What do you mean, I ask? "It is the united Church and State!" cries Mr. Ashburton—echoed by Lord Maccleshelt. "It is what has been preserved by the instrumentality of the Bishops among Protestant Dissenters." "It is an old Saxon and good English phrase!" ejaculates Mr. M'Leod" says Capt. Gurth, "It is a battery of three tactions!" quoth Dr. Marsham. A defending *The Constitution from a Tory would be a* party. According to their amount, it has been destroyed many a time and oft—it was destroyed by the Reform Bill, Peel, the Commons of the Long Parliament, Hill;—by the same clamorous and selfish party it was declared to be destroyed when the Roman Bishops were abolished. Will these sons weed to tell us what they mean, and not continue this puzzlelike iteration?—So much for the claptrap pretences of the party.

Dr. Marsham, however, lets in a little light, and shows in some degree the real object of the party. He assures his auditory that he is *really anxious for the fate of "The House of Lords and the Irish Clergy."* It would be idle to deny that we always have been anxious for the fate of "the House of Lords, but they would be unworthy of their country did they see their *Representatives* humbled and degraded by the hereditary peerage. If the Commons really believed their own statements, regarding the inestimable services rendered to the country and the age by the House of Peers, why did they not recite them particularly? This truly would have strengthened the Lords. Our *learned* member certainly told them that they secured liberty from the first charter of John, and recited the names of the Catholic Archbishop and Catholic Peers whose titles appear upon that Charter; but he did not tell them that the people were held in bondage, held as slaves, and considered but a better kind of cattle, by those same barons; aye, and by their successors too." "And now," quoth the sneering member, "the House of Lords emulate their ancestors in every thing that was wise and patriotic—and the dinner-stewes cheered—what goods and ills mean the hon. member take Oxford folk to be! I hastily wish the present Lords of ancient lineage, and of date sinecures in one particular—namely, *pay* the expenses of the wars they fomented, as bound by the tenure by which their baronies were held. It would all be an equitable *Land Tax* on the dead and chapters has been mostly objectionable."

This is indeed a reason; but what is the evidence on which this assertion is founded? I remember, with deep reluctance, a passage from your Lordship's speech as reported in the *St. James's Chronicle*:—"It was proposed by some, not by any of the bishops, but by individuals belonging to the deans and chapters themselves, to transfer to bishops the patronage of those deans and chapters. Half of the patronage, in the hands of those individuals belonging to deans and chapters, but I must express my astonishment that such evidence should be produced to give a pretext for a measure which were